A PLAN

FOR

BROTHERLY CO-OPERATION

OF THE

NORTH AND SOUTH,

FOR THE

Peaceful Extinction of Slavery.

BY ELIHU BURRITT.

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In whatever lands beyond the sea, the American citizen may sojourn, he carries with him the glowing sentiment of his country's greatness and capacity for mighty deeds. He carries with him its vast dimensions, as one would carry in his pocket a two-feet rule. He sometimes puts all the great rivers of Europe together between two banks, and measures against their united volume the giant Mississippi. He stretches the line of his country's length across the European Continent, from the Pacific to the Mediterranean, and from the Straits of Dover to the Bosphorous, and bids the bystanders note the results of the comparison. Now and then, he demonstrates to some patriotic Briton, how the whole of England might be put into Lake Michigan, leaving ample room for navigation on every side. Is the Frenchman or German proud of his native land; he suggests that both France and Prussia might be set down in the single State of Texas, and still leave territory enough within its boundaries to make a kingdom as large as Bel-

gium. But it is not what nature has done to make a home for the mightiest nation on earth, that constitutes the proudest boast of the American, on either side of the Atlantic. He insists that the institutions of his country have done far more than nature for its greatness and glory ; that these have developed the energies of its people to an unparalleled capacity, while they operate with resistless attraction upon the industrial populations of Europe, drawing them in a gulf-stream of emigration to the United States. It is what his countrymen have done and are doing to make the moral grandeur of the nation commensurate with its rivers, mountains, lakes, prairies, and all its boundless national resources, that fills his heart with honest pride and inspires his anticipations of a glorious future. He watches its long-reaching strides in the race of science and civilization with the old powers of Christendom. He sees it distancing one of them almost yearly in population and every other element of national strength. If the winters of three score years and ten have whitened his locks, he remembers when the whole population of the American Union did not equal numerically the present inhabitants of the State of New York. The little family of States which set out on its career when he was a boy, has become a commonwealth of thirty-one nations ; six of which contain each as many inhabitants as Denmark, and one, a larger number than Holland. Of all who speak the English language around the globe, he dwells most frequently and complacently upon the expansive and irresistible energy and genius of the

Anglo-Saxon race. He maintains that this race is to give to the world the highest manifestations of these innate qualities on the American continent, as the only compact territory fitted by its magnitude and character to develop and employ them. Already there are more of that race on this continent than in Europe. The census of 1860 will show a greater population in the United States than in the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland. Thirty-five years ago, the whole State of Illinois did not contain as many inhabitants as one of the third-rate manufacturing towns in England ; now it numbers at least a million, or as many as one of the larger principalities of Germany.

While the United States have thus expanded in territory and population, they have made equal progress in the acquisition of other elements of national strength. They have more mileage of Railway in operation than all other countries of the world put together ; more in the single State of New York than there is in the whole of France; more north of the Ohio than in all the British realms. In commerce, the Union is running neck and neck with France, and is only second to Great Britain. Its exports have more than doubled since 1850, and must reach the annual amount of $500,000,000 by 1860, if it maintains its present ratio of increase. Including its lake, river, and canal navigation, it has doubtless more tonnage employed than all the nations of Europe put together. Containing within itself all the producing climates and soils of the earth, it grows abundantly all kinds of grain, grass, and fruit known

to Europe, and, in addition to these, cotton, rice, and tobacco, which that continent cannot raise, and which constitute one-half of the domestic produce exported from the United States. Its ports on the Pacific are within twelve days' reach, by its steam marine, of the most thickly peopled regions of Eastern Asia; whilst its Atlantic ports are within the same distance from Europe; thus, with equally outstretched hands, taking hold of the trade of both continents of the Old World. The Pacific Railroad only is needed to connect them by the silken ligament of commerce across the bosom of the American Union; bringing London within thirty days' journey of the eastern ports of China. By the Panama railway and other *Americanizing* agencies in Central America, a powerful cordon of commerce and civilization is surrounding the whole of Mexico, and preparing a frontier for our nation far beyond the Southern boundary of that decadent Republic, and drawing its disorganized States into the sisterhood of our confederation.

The political compact by which thirty-one almost independent Republics are connected in one great Union, is admirably adapted for the harmonious confederation of all the civilized States that could be erected from Hudson's Bay to Patagonia. So long as each shall retain its present prerogatives of sovereignty, and be allowed its present scope and margin for revolving upon its own axis; for making all the laws and regulations necessary for the well-being of its own citizens; for incorporating in its institutions their customs, ideas, language, &c.; in a word, so long as Mas-

achusetts may be so different from Mississippi, and California from Connecticut, the bonds of the American Confederacy need not weakened, though it should embrace all the populations in the Western Hemisphere. It would not be even indispensably necessary that they should all be of the same race, language, or religion. Those States most widely severed by distance would be most strongly bound together by the necessity of each others' productions. If each would eschew monarchy, and consent to one federal custom-house system, coinage, postal organization, Army and Navy, Supreme Court of Appeals, and official intercourse with foreign nations, it might be as sovereign in its independence as any State could wish. With all these rights and prerogatives guarantied to every one of the great family of States, there would be no serious danger of its harmony being disturbed, from the accession of any number of new members, from North or South. If the American flag, as it floats on the ocean breeze, should show to the Old World one hundred stars, instead of thirty-one, in the year 1900, that emblasoned constellation might represent a federal harmony more complete and peaceful than it ever has done since it numbered but the "Old Thirteen." Notwithstanding all the vehement agitation and sectional bickerings that exist at the present moment, take away the single disturbing element of *Slavery*, and it will be conceded by every candid mind, that the unity of sentiment, interest and institutions is far greater, now that the Union has extended to the Pacific, than it was before it had crossed the

Mississippi, or even the Ohio. The old party divisions and struggles in connection with Protective Tarifs, Sub-treasuries, National Bank, Internal Improvements, Federalism, and State-rights polity, and other questions, have almost entirely disappeared. The intercourse between the several States is incalculably more intimate now than it was in 1800. The sentiment and fact of *oneness* would be infinitely greater with thirty-one than with thirteen, were it not for the existence of Slavery alone.

While the American Union gives to every State such a latitude of liberty to act for itself, to be such a complete sovereignty, in almost every faculty of independence, still it is capable of acting through the Federal Congress with a decision as instantaneous, and with an energy as concentrated as an autocracy or despotism itself, in any sudden contingency, involving the defence of the nation against foreign aggression. If the allied Powers of the rest of the world should rise against it in arms, its Central Government could do nearly all that the Czar of the Russias could do in a similar case of invasion. Were New York or New Orleans in imminent danger of being bombarded and burnt by the fleets of England and France, it would have full power to sink every American merchant ship in port in the entrance of the harbor, to save the city from destruction, without consulting captain or owner. If the emergency required such an exercise of power, it could force every man capable of bearing arms into the service of the country; take possession of railroads; cut down the choicest trees, level the cost-

liest edifices of towns and cities. More than this; if the allied enemies of the nation should concentrate their forces against the Southern States, and threaten to subjugate the entire country, through the weakness of slavery, our Federal Congress, by an act as decisive and peremptory as the decrees of a Nicholas or a Nebuchadnezzar, would have power to free every slave in the Union, and thus make him its friend and defender, instead of a dangerous foe. Of course, all the parties owning the property thus appropriated or destroyed would demand and receive an equitable indemnification for its loss.

The financial ability of the nation gives it a pre-eminent position among the great Powers of Christendom. The enormous expenses of past wars, and the cost of military armaments in time of peace, have bought some of them to the very brink of bankruptcy, and imposed a fearful burden upon the rest. For several years past, the annual *deficit* of Austria, in consequence of these expenses, has been more than half of the entire amount raised by the United States. The mere annual *interest* of the debt of Great Britian is more than twice the whole sum appropriated by our Government to all its departments of expenditure. That Power spends more on its army and navy, by ten millions of dollars a year, than the public income of the United States. The whole annual expenditure of Great Britain is about $20 per head for every man, woman and child of its population, whilst that of the United States is not $2 50 *per capita*. To illustrate the difference of these burdens,

and the relative capacities of the two countries for some new and vast enterprize, or for a race on the high-road of progress, England starts with a weight of 40 lbs. per subject on its back, while the United States only have 5 lbs. per inhabitant to carry on the national shoulders. Notwithstanding the great wealth of England, it may count its millions of subjects within the British Isles, from whose poverty scarcely any revenue can be wrung; especially since the Temperance movement commenced in Ireland. On the other hand, nearly all the inhabitants of the United States produce revenue by the consumption of dutiable articles. Travel through the Western States, and you will find thousands upon thousands emerging from the log-cabins into elegant framed houses, to be supplied with fashionable furniture and articles of ornament and luxury; all yielding revnue for the Federal Government. Every factory girl in New England, who buys a silk dress, with the annual amount of ribbon and lace she deems necessary to her proper adornment, contributes more to our national treasury than the English Chancellor of the Exchequer receives from fifty potato-eating peasants in Ireland who have signed, and still adhere to, Father Mathew's temperance pledge. The Irish and German immigrants, the very first year of their life in the United States, become national revenue-producers, and doubtless pay more of it here in one month than they did in a whole year in their native countries. At the present ratio of increase, the population of the Union must number 30,000,000 in 1860, every individual of whom will

be a contributor to the public income. It will be as easy in that year to raise $100,000,000, as it is to raise $60,-000,000, at the present moment.

There is no nation on earth that has such a vast public domain as the United States. Nor are there any government lands in the world that command such a ready sale and produce so much annual income as ours. Railroads are intersecting them in almost every direction, enhancing their their value, and bringing them into a speedy market. This landed estate of the Union contains more than 160,000,000, of acres, which. if well husbanded, should produce $1200,-000,000.

Possessing all these present and prospective elements of power, it is natural and inevitable, that the American citizen, at home and abroad, should feel that the time has come when his country can do a great thing before the nations, should it put forth all the strength of its Samson sinews. The Governments and people of Europe perceive and admit this capacity of the American Union, and frequently call it the mighty Republic of the Western World. In a word, there seems to be an expectation prevalent throughout Christendom that our nation will soon do some great thing; that it will show all the giant strength of its young manhood in some vast undertaking. It has stood quietly by and seen the foremost Powers of Europe put forth their strength in a tremendous war, in which at least 700,000 human beings were sacrificed, and $1,500,000,000 lavished upon the work of human destruction. England

has expended $500,000,000 in the vague and fruitless struggle; France as much more; and Russia an almost equal sum. It is now the turn of this great continental family of States to do something large—something to enhance its estimation in the eyes of the world; to increase its political power at home and abroad, and to strengthen and perpetuate its bonds of union. What shall it do to secure these objects? Shall it go to war with a coalition of European Powers? A victorious conflict with a world in arms would not be so glorious in the estimation of the other nations of Christendom, as the extirpation of that great domestic foe, which is arraying one section of the Republic in the bitterest antagonism to the other, and filling it with the malignant breathings of malice and mutiny. The system of Slavery is an enemy which imperils the life of our beloved Union far more than a world of foreign foes could do. It turns its harmonies into grating discords. It engulfs its fraternities in a sea of fierce and endless agitation. It is pitting the two great divisons of the country against each other in a struggle embittered with every element of strife. The halls of that Federal Congress, which should represent the unity of the Nation, echo for session after session with fiery and inflaming speeches, harsh invective, cutting retorts and taunts that sting and poison the wound they make. In ecclesiastical assemblies, at the meetings of benevolent or educational societies, even in social circles at private houses, the great disturber is present to stir up dissension. Wherever "the sons of God come together," or the sons of men,

this Satan of discord is sure to come with them. Hardly a minister of the Gospel, or even a school-master can be settled over a congregation or school, North or South, without starting up this evil genius. Not a square mile of land can be brought into the Union without a struggle between slavery and freedom. Threatenings of disunion and civil war, and other disasters attending the breaking up of this great confederation, are becoming more and more frequent and familiar. There is no ingenuity nor power in human legislation that can silence or stay the tempest of these angry dissensions until their source shall be extinguished. They will wax louder and fiercer, from year to year, in spite of all compromises and concessions. God himself connot make peace with slavery, nor can He give peace to this nation, while it exists within its borders. It will go on, "casting up mire and dirt," and foaming with furious contortions under the awakening conscience of the surrounding world. All the efforts to confine it to the space which it now blights with its curse, will only make its rage more desperate. More than fifty years of the nation's life have passed away, and we have no *union* yet. Apparently we are further from it than ever. The recent events in Congress and Kanzas denote, beyond all foregoing transactions, how wide and deep the abyss has grown that divides the North and South. There are no two independent Powers in Europe seemingly in such danger of deadly collision as these two sections of our Republic. Their criminations and recriminations, are growing more and more malignant and bitter;

and bloodshed and civil war are threatened, and expected in some quarters, with but a slight show of affliction at the catastrophe. It would be a mockery of every honest conception of political harmony, to call this condition of things a *Union*. We never had a greater variety of political organizations than at this moment. But not one of them pretends to present a plan or platform that shall bridge this broad abyss between the North and South, and unite them in the oneness of fraternal fellowship. Not one of them proposes to put its hand upon the only source of the nation's disease and eradicate it root and branch. "Non-extension" will never work out the non-existence of slavery, It has already grasped nearly every acre of this continent on which it can live; and has territory enough without Kanzas for fifteen millions of slaves, if it were peopled with as many of them per square mile as South Carolina.

Such is the insidious enemy that is sapping the foundations of our beloved Union, and threatening it with dissolution and utter destruction. All that is precious in its existence may depart, like a human soul, leaving its physical form apparently intact. It is not the legislative inter-linking of thirty-one States by the bonds of the national Constitution or Congress that breathes life into the Union, and keeps it throbbing within its bosom with healthful pulsations; any more than it is the physical mechanism of the human body that creates and perpetuates in it the living spirit which animates the whole. It is not the federal mechanism by which these States are connected that can perpetuate that

social existence so dear to every American patriot. A living spirit of brotherly love and sympathy, which laws can neither create nor preserve, must be kept burning and beating within the heart of the corporate nation. A *sentiment* of oneness must prevade its members in every contingency and crisis of its experience. Fraternal memories and affinities, kindly and spontaneous leanings of the heart toward each other must under-breathe, over-act and out-run all federal legislation and relationships in making them "diverse like the waves, but one like the sea." This spirit is the living soul of the Union. In his own and other lands, the true American thus regards it. He dwells most fondly and frequently upon those choice passages of his country's history which have been most brightly illuminated by the manifestations of this spirit. The long trial and struggle of the Revolution; the heroic partnerships in suffering and privation which endeared the "Old Thirteen" to each other, and enriched them with common and immortal memories; these constitute to his mind the vital bonds that hold this great family of States together by ligaments stronger than all the letters of the Federal Constitution and laws. All the external enemies which the nation has confronted, from the first day of its recognized existence, have aimed their weapons merely at its physical constitution. They essayed only to destroy its political organism. Their efforts tended to strengthen its inner life; to attach its federal members to each other by new bonds of sympathy and brotherhood. But slavery strikes immediately at the vital principle, at

the very soul of the Union. This it threatens to extinguish, leaving the frame-work of the great confederacy lying as lifeless on the scite of its structure as thirty-one chain links of iron coiled on the frosty earth. It has already made deplorable progress in this surreptitious and fatal work. The crisis has come—the time for united and irresistible action. How shall this monstrous domestic enemy be met and conquered! Just as the gigantic foe of the young Republic was met in 1776—by the most brotherly and energetic co-operation of all sections of the Union; in that sentiment of oneness to which the men of the Revolution left the red tokens of their devotion on the battle-fields of a seven years' war.

The utter extirpation of Slavery from American soil, should be achieved in a way and in a spirit that should attach all the members of the confederacy to each other by stronger bonds than had ever existed between them; which should bequeath to their numerous posterity of States a rich legacy of precious memories, deepening and perpetuating their sense of relationship, as co-heirs of the noblest chapters of American history. There is a magnanimous and glorious way by which this terrible evil in our midst may be removed, so as to produce these happy associations and results. That is, by a fraternal union and co-operation of all the States of our Republic in emancipating it fully and forever from this distructive system, at whatever cost it may be peacefully and honorably effected. In the first place, such a copartnership is indispensable to the work, for its achieve-

ment will require the concentrated energies of the mightiest nation ever erected on the face of the globe. When we come to the final tug of an undertaking, the like of which no nation on earth ever accomplished, no State, town or village, from California to Canada, can be spared. Every praying heart and willing hand will be needed for the grand effort.

There is but one way by which the whole nation can take upon its shoulders the total extinction of slavery. That is, by compensating the slave holders, out of the public treasury or the public domain, for the act of manumission.

Let us face the cost of this vast pecuniary transaction at the outset. Would the undertaking devolve a burden upon the nation which would exceed its financial ability, and prove onerous to its population? Taking all the slaves in the Union, young and old, sick and disabled, $250 per head must be admitted as an equitable average price. Three millions and a half, at this valuation, would amount to $875,000,000; a much smaller sum than England and France expended in the recent war with Russia. Even suppose, what could hardly be possible, that all the Southern States would accept this pecuniary consideration, and emancipate their slaves simultaneously and at once, the annual interest of the whole amount would be $52,500,000 at 6 per cent. This interest would not be half the sum appropriated every year by Great Britain to her army and navy in time of peace. If the population and wealth of the nation continue to increase at the ratio of the last ten years,

its ordinary revenue must reach $100,000,000, in 1860, and advance by several millions annually after that date. Thus, if emancipation took effect in 1860, the natural income of the nation would yield about $50,000,000, for the current expenses of the Government, besides the interest of the debt contracted for freeing the country from slavery. With due economy, the people would be burdened with no more taxation than at the present moment.

The Free States ought to be moved by a sense of high moral obligation, as well as considerations of enlightened expediency, not only to accept, but to offer this mode of exterminating that perilous evil which is slowly eating through the life-strings of the Union. It must be confessed that the North participated in the inhuman traffic that planted slavery in the Southern States with all the unscrupulous greed of gain that marks the chattelization of human beings. After the importation of slaves from Africa was suppressed, a vast majority of the people of the Free States, up to 1840, resisted all active opposition to Slavery with more persecuting zeal than the land-owners of England manifested against the movement for the abolition of the corn-laws. Pulpit, Press and Platform, from Maine to Missouri, seemed almost unanimous in the determination to silence all agitation of the subject. The few men and women who had the nerve of truth and righteousness to denounce the system as a sin and curse, were branded with obloquy, and regarded as outlaws or fanatics, equally dangerous to the peace of the Christian church and the safety

of the nation. Hardly twenty years have elapsed, since they were mobbed under the windows of Fanueil Hall. Within the shadow of Bunker Hill, at its eve-tide length, they were hunted like felons, and worse than felons, by their own fellow citizens.

For the first half century of the nation's life, the prejudice against color in the North was so general, implacable and tyrannical, and the treatment of the African race so degrading and oppressive, that a candid mind would have been obliged to infer, that the victims of such dispositions and deportment were regarded as only fitted for slavery. Even at this moment, one or two of the Free States have "Black Laws" in force, which exclude from their borders a free colored man, as if he were worse than the leper once compelled to wander outside the gates of Jurusalem; which virtually sells him as a brute, if he persists in his attempt to make himself a humble and honest home in the obscurest corner of their vast and thinly-peopled territory. In still a larger number of Northern States, one of which boasts its Charter Oak, and two hundred years of Puritan nurture in the principles of civil liberty, the slightest tinge of African blood drives a very saint in virtue from the ballot box, and forbids him that right of suffrage which the most vicious foreigner may easily obtain.

For fifty years, the most able and astute defenders of Slavery have been Northern men residing in the South. They have filled many of its pulpits, and the editorial chairs of its public press. They have made their way to the helm

of its commercial enterprise and literary institutions. They have become its leading merchants, speculators and factors. They have supplied nearly all its school teachers; thus commanding the current of popular education. Having a character to establish as "Northern men with Southern principles," they have far outrun the native slaveholders themselves in zeal for slavery. They have elaborated the most subtle and wicked arguments to sustain it. Many of them have exhibited an ingenuity in distorting the Holy Scriptures to this end, which Southern born theologians have never been able to equal. The most heartless sophistries to make the teachings of Jesus Christ and his apostles sanction "the peculiar institution" of the South, have been the inventions of men born in the highest latitudes of civil liberty in the North. Thousands of them have become slave-owners on their own account, and thousands more hireling and relentless drivers of slaves for others. By correspondence and social intercourse, they have kept up among their relatives and friends in the Free States, a countless standing army of apologists for the system, of almost equal zeal and bitterness.

Up to the present moment, the North has been a commercial and equal partner with the South in all the material values or pecuniary results produced by slavery. In the first place, the great southern staples, Cotton, Tobacco and Rice, with their vast valuation, constituting virtually the commercial currency between America and Europe, have mostly passed through the hands of Northern merchants

and factors, enriching them with lucrative profits. Then slavery rendered the Southern States dependent upon the North for all the manufactured articles they used; from parlor books to kitchen brooms, from beaver hats for the master to the coarsest chip hats for the slave; from pen-knives to ploughs. Nearly all the goods they used were either manufactured or imported for them by the North. Their teas, coffees and other foreign productions either came to them through New York, Philadelphia, or Boston, or were brought to them direct from across the sea in Northern ships. The factories and ships of the Eastern States and the fertile prairie lands of the West, teemed with the industrial activities which these important staples employed and rewarded. What three millions of slaves grew under the lash in the South, made a continuous and profitable business for at least twice that number of freemen in the North. The latter, by that species of compromise for which it has been distinguished, grasped at the lion's share of the dividends of this commercial partnership. It coveted to sell to the Southern States, far more than it purchased from them. If they would only consent to a high protective tariff, which would give their market for manufactures exclusively to the North, anti-slavery agitation in the Free States should be put down and extinguished. The mobbing of "abolition agitators" in Boston, New York, Philadelphia and other Northern cities was a part of this business transaction—a small instalment of the purchase price of *Protection*. Each of these acts of violence was one of the pieces of silver paid

for Southern trade. Take it all in all, probably two thirds of "all the wealth that sinews bought and sold" have produced on this continent, have accrued to the States north of Mason's and Dixon's Line, as the pecuniary result of their silent partnership in the system of human bondage.

A candid, impartial statesmen, looking at the legislative history of the United States, from a distant stand point, would be shut up to the conclusion, that slavery was here accepted and defended as a national institution. Let him read simply the enactments of Congress, and this conviction would be inevitable. Every aggression of the slave-power upon the Free States has found originators or abettors among their most distinguished Senators. The notorious *Twenty-first Rule*, which trampled under foot the first right of the people, and spurned their petitions unread from the table, was generally moved by a Northern representative. The Fugitive Slave Bill, the most aggravated infringment of the rights of personal liberty which the Free States have been called to endure, will go down to the last day of the nation's existence identified with the name and fame of Daniel Webster, as its father and founder. The aid his vast influence and talents gave to it will make him its originator, in the view of future generations, though he may not have interpolated a line in the text of the Bill. The Nebraska Bill will go down to posterity stamped with its Northern origin. It is doubtful whether any senator in the American Congress, except Stephen A. Douglass, could have achieved the passage of that measure. No man, unques-

tionably, in the nation, except himself, possessed the extraordinary capacities and characteristics requisite to that achievement. Was he an isolated traitor to the North? did he stand alone in this act? No; he was sustained by Lewis Cass, who stands at the head and front of living American statesmen in European estimation, for his distinguished ability and long experience. Nearly one half of the senators from the Free States voted for the Bill. In the House of Representatives, those States have a large majority; yet the Bill passed that body.

By popular sentiment, commercial partnership, religious communion, and legislative action, the Free States have lived in guilty complicity with the system of slavery from the foundation of the Republic. It is far too late for them to cleanse their garments of the stains of that guilt by the flames and fumigation of indignant emotion. Tears of repentance can only do the work, followed by acts proving it to be sincere and honest. It is in vain for them to plead that the seductions of the slave-power were too strong for their love of truth and righteousness; to charge upon the tempter their own lack of virtue. The mother of our race ventured to present this plea in extenuation of her guilt, and to saddle her sin upon the serpent. But the God of justice did not accept it; nor will He in the case of the Free States against the South. Before His holy eyes, before all the civilized communities of mankind around us, their long and aggravated participation in slavery has *nationalized* it; has drawn it to the bosom of the whole Union as with a

cart rope. In view of this wicked complicity, the system has been *unsectionalized*, and allowed to cast as dark a shadow on the highest hill top of Vermont as upon the lowest rice swamp of Carolina. Before God and man, the North deserves to be fined heavily for its dereliction of duty to freedom. It deserves it richly, as an act of penal justice to humanity. It should be made to pay its share of the cost of extinguishing slavery, whatever pecuniary expense it may involve.

Motives of enlightened patriotism, as well as of justice and necessity, should unite all sections of the Republic in the annihilation of its only enemy, which endangers its existence, destroys its unity, and paralyzes its influence upon the rest of the world. All the powers of Europe arrayed in arms against the American Union could not subject it to the peril in which it lives by fostering in its heart the everlasting antagonism and weakness of slavery. All other sources of sectional jealousy and controversy have disapeared, or have been swallowed up in this great seething gulf of discord. There is no ingenuity nor power in human legislation that can silence or stay the tempest of these angry dissensions until their source shall be extinguished. They will wax louder and fiercer, from year to year, in spite of all compromises and concessions. God himself cannot make peace with slavery, nor can He give peace to this nation, while it exists within its borders. It will go on, "casting up mire and dirt," and foaming with furious contortions under the awakening conscience of the surrounding world

All the efforts to confine it to the space which it now blights with its curse, will only make its rage more desperate. More than fifty years of the nation's life have passed away, and we have no *Union* yet. Apparently we are further from it than ever. The recent events in Congress and in Kansas denote, beyond all foregoing transactions, how wide and deep the abyss has grown that divides the North and South. There are no two independent Powers in Europe seemingly in such danger of deadly collision as these two sections of our Republic. Their criminations and recriminations are growing more and more malignant and bitter; and bloodshed and civil war are threatened, and expected in some quarters, with but a slight show of affliction at the catastrophe. It would be a mockery of every honest conception of political harmony, to call this condition of things a union.

No measure short of the total extinction of slavery can establish a Union on this Continent worth saving; and that is an achievement beyond the power of any section, or sectional party, though it should enrol in its ranks every voter north of Mason and Dixon's Line. We never had a greater variety of political organizations than at this moment. But not one of them pretends to present a plan or platform that shall bridge this broad abyss between the North and South, and unite them in the oneness of fraternal fellowship. Not one of them proposes to put its hand upon the only source of the nation's disease and eradicate it root and branch. "Non-extension" will never work out the non-

existence of slavery. It has already grasped nearly every acre of this continent on which it can live; and has territory enough without Kansas for fifteen millions of slaves, if it were peopled with as many of them per square mile as South Carolina.

The extinction of slavery would make the nation a mighty and multitudinous unit—one in interest, one in sentiment and public policy. The power of its attraction would be increased ten fold; attaching State to State by new bonds of brotherhood, and drawing into its embrace, by the peaceful ties of sympathy, all the North American populations that now surround it. We should have no more "Missouri Compromises," Fugitive Slave Bills, or Nebraska Bills. Mason and Dixon's Line would be erased forever. The birth and introduction of a new State would be a common and equal gladness to all sections of the Union. We should have no more balance of power questions connected with the annexation of neighboring States, desirous of casting in their lot with us as a nation. On whatever side they should gravitate into the Union, they would be welcome to North and South, East and West.

We ought to exterminate slavery at once, at whatever pecuniary expense it might involve, as an act of enlightened policy towards the other nations of Christendom. In the midst of these revolutions and upturnings in the world, America cannot afford to hug slavery to her bosom another twenty-five years. She cannot afford to let the clanking of its fetters drown the speech of those great principles embo-

died in the Declaration of Independence at a time like the present. No human mind could conceive what America might do for the world in the next quarter of a century; what hand of help she might extend to prostrate and despairing peoples; what burning beacons she might raise along their pathway to civil freedom, if she would but now arise in her united might, and put away from her the sin, shame and schism of slavery.

For even the material well being of the Union, it would be better to pay the annual interest of a thousand millions of dollars, rather than to permit slavery to have a lease to live another fifty years on this Continent. The nation would make money by its immediate extinction, even at that cost. The curse which degrades human labor, and palsies its sinews would be lifted from fifteen of the largest States of the Republic. Their vast agricultural and mineral resources would be developed to a wealth beyond computation. The barrier which has so long shut out from their midst the enriching industry of free sinews, would be leveled to the ground; and they would soon be filled with energetic and intelligent populations from the Free States and from Europe. The increased value of their lands would augment the wealth of the whole nation. Buy of slavery at once; foreclose its lease, and the Public Revenue would doubtless reach $100,000,000 per annum in ten years, and constantly increase beyond that period, without including the income from the public lands.

The only possible way by which the Free States can ac-

quire the right to legislate for the extinction of slavery throughout the Union, is by compensating the slaveholders of the South for the act of manumission. If all the British Provinces in North America, and all Mexico, should become part and parcel of this Republic, and surround the South with a cordon of Free States six deep, the Constitution would not give them one iota of power to vote the extermination of slavery in Virginia or Georgia, unless that power were acquired through this pecuniary arrangement. Unless this were adopted, the millions of Free State voters surrounding the area of slavery, from Newfoundland to Hudson's Bay, from Hudson's Bay to Oregon, and from Oregon to Yucatan, would be obliged to stand by with powerless ballots and watch the slow and silent working of their opinions alone upon Southern legislation. Not one of them could cast a vote directly upon the great question. But let the Free States say they are willing to bear their part of the expense of removing slavery from the Union, and they might bring the proposition before Congress this very session.

National indemnification would be an act of liberal justice towards the Southern States, which would enable them to enter at once upon the great work of emancipation, from which they would doubtless shrink for a century, if they alone were obliged to bear all the burden of its cost. It would at once and forever silence that perpetual and powerful argument of their lips, that the Free States are plotting to rob them of their property ; to annihilate the great interest in which they think their all is staked.

The pecuniary arrangement proposed would be an act of good policy, as well as of good will and necessity, on the part of the North towards the Southern States. It would hold them up from that bankruptcy or long and deep prostration which would result from their taking the whole weight of emancipation upon their own shoulders. Admitting, in the Southern sense, that the slaves represent *de facto* property, the value of 3,500,000, at $250 per head, taking young and old, sick and disabled, would be $875,000,000. The immediate and unconditional annihilation of this vast interest would bring as much pecuniary loss and as much poverty and distress upon the slave-holders of the South, as if that interest were sanctioned by the laws of God and humanity. Every slave has cost as much, or represents as much money, as if those laws did in very deed recognize and justify a property value in him. It would be a legal impossibility, or an act of legal injustice on the part of Southern legislatures, to repeal at once all their laws sanctioning this property, and to emancipate immediately and fully all the slaves in those States, without indemnifying their owners. What the fifteen States south of Mason and Dixon's Line cannot legally do, the thirty-one of the whole Union cannot justly accomplish. It would also be, or be deemed, pecuniarily impossible for the Southern States to take upon themselves alone the burden of $875,000,000, for the emancipation of their slaves.

National compensation would be an act which would put the Free States in a completely new attitude toward the

South ; an attitude not of scorn, indignation, or supercilious repugnance, but a brother's posture and aspect, reaching a hand of help to his own mother's twin-born son, to enable him to throw off a burden which he himself had, by indirection, aided in binding to his neck. Even pagan nations, in their sanguinary wars with neighboring countries, have professed to hold the sword in one hand and the olive branch in the other. God himself makes conditions with the vilest sinner, and offers him peace and joy, like a river in this world, and His glorious heaven in the next, as the result of his sincere repentance. But in this long and fierce-waxing struggle with the South, we have not imitated Divine justice, nor that of unenlightened paganism. We have grasped a sword in each hand up to the present hour. We have never promised the Slave States any reward for their repentance ; we have never offered to do any thing for them, not even to give them the full communion of our sympathy, if they would put away from them this great sin in our eyes.

National indemnification would not be a mere compromise, but an earnest and brotherly partnership between the North and South, in working out a glorious consummation, which would bless equally both sections of the Republic. The extinction of slavery, at every stage of this process, instead of dissevering, would unite the States by affinities and relationships that have never existed between them. A new spirit would be generated in the heart of the nation, and cover it like an atmosphere of fraternal amity. Such a spirit would be worth to the country twice the value of

all the slaves in its borders. Without this spirit pervading the Union, the wrongs of the slaves can never be righted. Nothing but slavery itself, of the most atrocious stamp, could be worse for them than emancipation in the midst of a tempest of malignant passions, of fierce and fiery hate. Fearful and almost hopeless would be their condition, if the fetters of their physical bondage should be rent asunder in a thunder-burst of burning wrath. Of all parties to this great moral struggle, their well-being will be most dependent upon the prevalence of benevolent sentiments and fraternal sympathies throughout the nation at the time of their manumission.

The means at the command of the nation for the extinction of slavery by the mode proposed, are ample. There is one source of revenue alone, not needed for the current expenses of the Government, which would be sufficient to emancipate all the slaves in the Union. This is the Public Domain of the United States. This landed estate of the nation, according to official estimate, contains, exclusive of the lands acquired from Mexico by the treaty of 1853, 1,600,000,000 of acres. At the average of 75 cents per acre, they would yield $1,200,000,000. Admitting $250 per head for the whole slave population to be a fair average price, taking infant and aged, sick and infirm, the 3,500,000 in the United States would amount to $875,000,000. Thus, the public lands would not only defray the expense of emancipating all these slaves, but would also yield a large surplus for their education and moral improvement.

Did any nation ever have such an extent of territory as a free gift from Providence? How could we more appropriately recognize this gift, than by consecrating it to freedom? than by making it the ransom-price from slavery of all the chattelized human beings in the Union? Wherein and how could they contribute more to the true dignity, harmony and well-being of the nation? If not thus appropriated in advance, they will be alienated from the Federal Government altogether. They will be frittered away in sectional bribes, or sources of Executive patronage, and thus become capital for political corruption—the pension money for partisan warfare. This is the very moment to arrest this squandering process, and to appropriate what remains of this public domain to some great object connected with the peace and prosperity of the whole nation. The act, or even the certainty of emancipation, would greatly enhance the value of the public lands in all the Slave States; thus producing the revenue necessary to accomplish the magnificent enterprise.

The only action which it would be necessary to ask Congress to take in this matter at the outset, would be—

To make a provision by law, that whenever any State of the Union, in which slavery now exists, shall decree the emancipation of all slaves, and the abolition of involuntary servitude, except for crime, within its borders, an exact enumeration shall be made, and for each and every slave thus emancipated, there shall be paid from the National Treasury to such State, for equitable distribution among

the slaveholders, a certain sum of money, to be ascertained as Congress may direct; and that the net revenue from all the future sales of the public lands, shall be appropriated exclusively to the emancipation of all the slaves in the United States in this manner.

The prerogative of each individual State to retain or abolish slavery, remains untouched by the Congressional enactment proposed. Not the slightest form or aspect of Federal compulsion is assumed towards its sovereignty. The Central Government only makes a generous offer to each and every Southern State simultaneously. It leaves that State in the freest exercise of its sovereign will to accept or reject that offer. If it accepts, then the stipulated sum of money is paid to its appointed agent by the Government. That money is distributed by the State receiving it in its own way.

Although this offer were made to all the Southern States individually, it is quite certain that they would not all accept it simultaneously. One State, after some hesitation, would lead the way, and be followed one after the other by the rest. Doubtless the one containing the smallest number of slaves would be the first to try the experiment of emancipation. This would be Delaware, which has only about 2000 at this moment. These, at $250 per head, would only amount to $500,000. The whole revenue from the Public lands in 1855 was $11,497,000. The odd dollars of this sum above eleven millions, would have freed Delaware from Slavery. By the census of 1850, Arkansas had

about 47,000 slaves. Thus the income from the public lands last year would have emancipated all these human beings, and have added Arkansas to the Free States of the Union. The surplus revenue now in the Treasury of the United States, mostly derived from these lands, would emancipate all the slaves in Missouri. We might go on in this way, freeing a slave State once in two years, without adding to the taxation of the Union.

Taking the number of Slaves in 1850, according to the Census, the Southern States would receive the following sums, allowing them $250 per head for the emancipation of their slave population :—

States.	No. of Slaves.	Compensation.
Virginia, . . .	472,528	$118,132,000
South Carolina, . .	384,984	96,246,000
Georgia, . . .	381,682	95,420,500
Alabama, . . .	342,892	85,723,000
Mississippi, . . .	309,878	77,470,500
North Carolina, . .	288,548	72,137,000
Louisiana, . . .	244,809	61,202,250
Tennessee, . . .	239.460	59,865,000
Kentucky, . . .	210,981	52,745,250
Maryland, . . .	90,368	22,592,000
Missouri, . . .	87,422	21,855,500
Texas, . . .	58,161	14,540,250
Arkansas, . . .	47,100	11,775,000
Florida, . . .	39,309	9,287,250
Dist. Columbia, . .	3,687	921,750
Delaware, . . .	2,290	572,500

The amounts thus received by the several Southern

States would not represent all the pecuniary compensation which they would realize from emancipation. The extinction of slavery would open the flood gates of free labor and its fertilizing and ingenious industry. Vast numbers of intelligent and vigorous men from the North and from Europe would pour into Maryland, Virginia, Kentucky, Tennessee, Missouri and other Southern States, and create a great demand and value for their lands. Those in Missouri, for instance, would advance to the price at which the same quality is now sold in Iowa. Real estate in Kentucky would rise to the Ohio standard. Land in Virginia would sell for as much as that of the same capacity of production in Pennsylvania.. It would be a moderate estimate to assume, that emancipation, as soon as declared, would double the value of all the lands in the Southern States. This in most cases would constitute a larger pecuniary consideration than the several amounts of money received for the manumission of their slaves, as will be seen from the following figures, taking the valuation of their farms as given by the Census of 1850.

States.	Additional value of Farms.	Money Compensation.	Tot. Am. for each Stave.
Virginia,	$216,401,543	$118,132,000	$708
South Carolina,	82,431,684	96,246,000	464
Georgia,	95,753,445	95,420,500	500
Alabama,	64,323,224	85,723,000	437
Mississippi,	54,738,634	77,470,500	391
North Carolina,	47,891,766	72,137,000	485
Louisiana,	75,814,398	61,202,250	560

States.	Additional value of Farms.	Money Compensation.	Tot. Am. for each slave.
Tennessee,	97,851,212	59,685,000	657
Kentucky,	155,021,262	52,745,250	984
Maryland,	87,178,545	22,592,000	1,214
Missouri,	63,225,543	21,855,500	982
Texas,	16,550,008	14,540,250	534
Arkansas,	15,265,245	11,775,000	574
Florida,	6,323,109	9,287,250	400
Dist. Columbia,	1,730,460	921,750	720
Delaware,	18,880,031	572,500	850

Those States whose lands would be the most speedily and largely increased in value by the act of Emancipation, are Maryland, Virginia, Kentucky, Tennessee and Missouri, because their climate and soil are the best adapted to free white labor. If slavery were abolished within their borders, the streams of emigration from the Eastern States and from Europe would pour in upon them, occupying and fertilizing their waste or exhausted lands, and diffusing the genius and vigor of agricultural and mechanical skill and industry throughout the community. All their silent or idle rivers and streams would be set to the music of machinery; and manufactories for working into full value the products of their fields, mines and forests, would line their valleys, each surrounded by a white and thrifty village. The Atlantic ports of the South would be whitened by the canvass of all nations, and ships laden with emigrants from England, France and Germany, would disembark their freights of human industry on their wharves. One day's journey by railroad from Norfolk, Wilmington,

Charleston, Savannah or Mobile, would take the European farmer to the place of his destination. With all the attractions which those States would possess, if freed from slavery, it must seem a moderate estimate to every candid mind, to assume that their lands would be merely *doubled* in value by the act of emancipation. Admitting this small ratio of enhancement, we have two positive pecuniary considerations operating upon every slave State in favor of emancipation. For example, the act by doubling the value of the farming lands of Virginia, would add over $216,000,000 to the wealth of that State. Then she would receive $118,000,000 in money from the National Treasury, as compensation for manumitting her slaves. Putting this and that together, she would realize $334,000,000 at once from emancipation on the terms proposed. This would be equal to $700 per head for the slaves, taking young and old, sick and disabled ; which must be at least twice their average value. Take the case of Missouri, with its vast expanse of uncultivated and low-priced lands, all adapted to free white labor. In the census of 1850, the value of her farms is set down at $63,325,543, although her territory contains 41,623,680 acres, thus averaging only about $1 50 per acre for the whole area of the State. Every intelligent Missourian must see, that this is an exceedingly meagre value for a vast landed estate, containing as many arable acres to the square mile as any State in the Union. It must be difficult for him to account for this fact, except from the existence of slavery. To say that the honorable

and equitable extinction of this system would double, treble or quadruple the worth of the lands in Missouri, must be a moderate estimate of their enhancement in his view. But, assuming that the act would only *double* the present value of those lands, there would be over $63,000,000 added at once to the wealth of Missouri, from this source of increased prosperity. Then she would receive from the National Treasury about $22,000,000 for the emancipation of her slaves; making an aggregate consideration of $85,000,000 for manumitting 87,000 slaves, or nearly $1,000 per head. But every well-informed and candid Missourian, who fully understands the natural resources of his State, its peculiar location and relationship, must surely admit that emancipation would *quadruple*, in five years, the present value of its lands, thus increasing its wealth by $200,000,000. This amount, even without any compensation from the National Treasury, would be equal to $2,000 per head for every emancipated slave.

Another source of material wealth which may be justly added to the other considerations in favor of emancipation, is the rise of real estate in towns and villages, which would inevitably and immediately result from the act. In the foregoing estimates, its effect upon *farming* lands has only been noticed. The value of these, for purely agricultural purposes, it has been assumed, would be doubled. But extinguish slavery in the Southern States, and thousands and tens of thousands of acres along their sea-coats and river-shores would be sold by the foot instead of the acre, and for a

price approaching to that of building scites in Chicago, St. Pauls, Milwaukee, and other Western towns. Emancipation would raise up thousands of thrifty villages south of Mason and Dixon's line, which land would be sold for $1,000 per acre. Ten times the amount of land thus sold for city and village scites, would be increased to tenfold their present value by their proximity to these new markets and centres of population and trade.

These are some of the leading *pecuniary* inducements which would operate upon the great majority in the Southern States in favor of emancipation. Thousands of their most intelligent minds must be prepared to appreciate these material considerations; as well those of higher importance, founded in the moral well-being of the community in which they dwell. Make the offer suggested, and these material and moral considerations would inevitably and at once divide the whole population of every Southern State into two great parties, one for emancipation, the other for the retention of slavery. An immediate and general discussion would ensue, and the final issue of it could not be doubtful.

Doubtless thousands of good and true men in the North, as well as a majority of the Southern people, have come to regard emancipation in the West Indies as a partial or utter failure, so far as relates to the habits and condition of the colored people on those islands. Having arrived at this conclusion, they easily and naturally adopt the idea, that the same failure would attend the manumission of the

slaves of the United States. We fully believe that both the premise and conclusion in this case are incorrect and mistaken. In the first place, no true friend of freedom and justice should admit or regard emancipation in the West Indies as a failure; but if it were proved to be a failure, that would not be an evidence that the same or a similar result would attend the experiment in the United States. We cannot here bring forward the facts connected with the condition of the West Indies prior and subsequent to emancipation. Two or three may be succinctly stated. For at least a century previous to this event, the proprietors of the cotton and sugar plantations on those islands were the worst kind of *absentees*. They mostly resided in England, squandering at fashionable watering-places all they could drain from estates they seldom, if ever, visited, and which were managed by a posse of attorneys, clerks, and overseers, who, in their turn, put them through the process of a second draining to fill their pockets. A far better system of *absenteeism* and proxy managing than this almost ruined Ireland, involving a great portion of its lands in such heavy indebtedness, that Government had at last to cut the meshes of incumbrance, and force the mortgaged estates into liquidation and sale. For many years prior to emancipation, the crops of most of the West Indian plantations were mortgaged at seed time, to capitalists or merchants in England, for advances made at Jewish rates of interest. In the hands of these sharpers, cotton and sugar were sold like forfeited goods in the pawnbroker's shop. If there had

never been a slave in the West Indies, this system would have inevitably terminated in a smashing break-down. And that break-down came. Even emancipation could not prevent it, nor could it expedite the issue.

Now, would emancipation in the United States find the planters of the South in this condition? Have they pursued a system of *absenteeism* like that described? Have they for years been rolling and lolling in indolence and dissipation at watering places, three thousand miles distant from their estates? Have they been in the habit of pawning their crops, ere sown, in the shaving shops of English cotton brokers or capitalists for advances at ruinous rates, perhaps to be spent at the dice-box or card table? Have they thus meshed their estates with mortgages beyond extrication? No; far from it, every candid mind must admit. There is hardly any economical analogy between the planters of the West Indies and those of the Southern States, considering their condition prior to emancipation. There would doubtless be far less parity of condition after the act of manumission; even if we assume that the compensation *per* slave were exactly equal in the two cases. The British Government paid $100,000,000 for the liberation of about 800,000 bond men, women and children, or about $125 per head. The United States Government pays $875,000,000 for the manumission of 3,500,000. Every dollar of this vast sum would go directly to the Southern States, adding so much virtually to their wealth; constituting so much money capital in the hands of the planters,

wherewith to commence the economy of free labor production ; wherewith to recover their estates to more than original fertility, and to hire free sinews for their cultivation. Compare this condition with that of the West Indies. Nearly every pound sterling of the compensation allowed by the British Government was retained in England, in the hands of the *absentee* proprietors, their creditors and Parliamentary agents. Hardly a dollar of the amount granted ever found its way to the plantations thus bled to death's door beyond the sea. Is there not a difference here upon which a different result of emancipation may be predicted in favor of our Southern States? But there is another difference in their favor of vast importance. In the plan already developed and presented to the public, it is proposed that the American planters shall receive $250 instead of $125, for the emancipation of their slaves. Now would it not be a preposterous apprehension on their part to fear a West India break-down as the result of emancipation, with this enormous sum in their hands?

Then there is another grand difference of position in favor of the Southern States. Under slavery or freedom, there could be comparatively no emigration of free laborers from Europe to the West Indies. Thus the enhancement of the price of lands in those islands must depend mostly upon the ability of the emancipated slaves to purchase and till them profitably. On the other hand, there is nothing but the existence of slavery in the Southern States that turns away from their borders the gulf-stream

of that immigration which would else overspread their territory and occupy and enrich their thinly settled and impoverished lands. Doubtless every acre in Virginia or Missouri would be trebled in value to-morrow, if it could be made certain to-day that slavery in those States would be abolished in the course of five years. Thus emancipation, according to the plan proposed, would put into the hands of the Southern States nearly $900,000,000 in ready money. Then it would at least double the value of their farms, estimated in 1850 at $1,119,000,000. Here are about $2,000,000,000, as the pecuniary result of emancipation to the Southern States, without counting other sources of income and prosperity which the measure would produce.

We now come to notice briefly the common argument or impression, that the manumitted slaves will not work for the stimulus of wages; that they will sink down into drivelling indolence and barbarism, if released from the sting of the lash. The West Indies experiment is brought forward to sustain this conclusion. There the emancipated Africans cannot be hired to work; they will see the sugar plantations ruined for labor, before they will supply it with their own hands. We think it quite likely that this is true. We hope it is, at least. We hope that the miserly pittance of a shilling a day, offered by the *ci-devant* slaveholders of Jamaica or Barbadoes, will never hire many freed men to labor for their former masters, either in those islands or in our Southern States. They never will do it, we are confident, after having been able to buy or rent two

or three acres of land. We believe that the charge of incorrigible indolence brought against the *emancipados* of the West Indies to be a libel on the truth. It is the brutal verdict of the old dilapidated plantation. It is the item wherewith the deficit is balanced in the inventory of hogsheads of sugar. Again we express our hope that men freed from slavery will not work for a shilling a day, either in the West Indies or the United States. We do not believe that our Southern planters would have the face to ask even a slave to work for that price, and board himself. There are thousands and tens of thousands of slaves hired from their owners in the Southern States at the rate of from $100 to $200 a year, to be fed, clothed and housed by the employer. On an average, $12 a month are paid for their labor, over and above the expense of their food, clothing, &c. In hundreds of cases, their employers give them a chance to earn something for themselves, as a special stimulus to their industry. They find this good policy, and are willing to pay 50 cents a day to the owner of the slave, and 25 or 50 more to the slave himself for the work he may accomplish by extra exertion from sun to sun. It is the work he wants, and the extra half dollar he pays to the slave for it, is a profitable investment. Thus, there is but little danger that the planters of the South would force their former slaves into West India idleness by offering them only a shilling a day for their labor. We would earnestly commend this consideration to the attention of those who have honestly apprehended such a result.

Since the rapid and wonderful settlement of California, and the still more remarkable movements of the population of Eastern Asia, the Chinese have formed no inconsiderable stream of that broad river of emigration which is now pouring nearly half a million of human beings yearly upon the Atlantic and Pacific shores of this continent. Considering the vast population of China, and the sudden opening of the great empire; the condition of the people; their struggle for sustenance, and the miserly pittance of food on which they subsist, and the facility with which they might be imported into the United States, the question has been naturally suggested, whether or not these Asiatic myriads might not be profitably substituted for the African race in the Southern States. This question has been seriously discussed. The central fact of the proposition is this; that the Chinese are to be substituted for the Africans, at least in a far higher condition of freedom than it is thought safe to concede to the latter. Doubtless all the Southern planters, who have considered this suggestion, have concluded that these Chinese laborers must not be literally bought, and sold, and flogged as slaves; that they must be paid after a certain rate for their toil; that they must be allowed a considerable scope and verge of liberty. Now, then, *cui bono?* What earthly advantage could accrue to the Southern States from the change of races on their soil? Draft a thousand of common field-hands from any dozen plantations, and set them front to front with the same number of these Asiatic pagans, and see which would show the

greatest apitude and fitness for the culture of cotton, corn, or sugar. In what one quality of disposition, or of physical constitution, would the Chinese be preferable? Could they perform more work per day? Would they be more tractable or faithful in-doors or out-doors? Would the moral atmosphere of their life and habits be more congenial and agreeable? Could they be taken safely into more intimate personal relations and intercourse with the planters and their families, as trusty and affectionate servants? In complexion, features, and form, in voice and language, would they be less exposed to prejudice, and more easily amalgamated with the native white population, and more speedily Americanized and Christianized? These are a few of the questions involved in the proposition of changing races, in order to improve the labor of the Southern States. We believe the anticipation of any benefit from such a change is a complete and utter fallacy. If the Southern planters and farmers had the range of all the races and populations of the globe, they would not find one more suited to their sun and soil than the three millions of African blood who now cultivate their fields, and serve them in every capacity of industry. The raw material of their labor is the best the world can furnish them. It is the natural, native, acclimated labor of the South, fitted to bear the heat and burthen of Southern sun and agriculture; to live and thrive where white men would droop and die. Search the earth over, and you will not find for the South labor more docile, or laborers, male and female,

more capable of endurance, or more susceptible of warm and faithful attachment to their employers. Then why change them for an equal number of copper-colored pagans from China? There surely can be but one advantage anticipated from such a substitution, and that must be predicated on the positive admission that Chinese labor would be more profitable, because it would be comparatively *free;* that, among other conditions, it would all be *hired* labor, and hired of those alone whose own sinews were to perform the work; that consequently all the capital invested in the labor bestowed on one years' crop would be the one years' wages of the men employed to plant and gather it. Now, put that consideration with another from which it cannot be disconnected, and see to what an issue we come. In order to effect this substitution, the slaves must be displaced and sent beyond the bounds of the Union, if not to Africa. On what conditions? There is not wealth enough outside of the Union, in the Western Hemisphere, to buy them, were there a disposition for it. Africa will not buy them back. The Northern States will never tax themselves to compensate the slaveholders for freeing and then banishing them, by expensive and cruel transportation. We hope our Southern brethren will believe this. The time may come, and soon, when the North, in its intense desire to extinguish forever the system of Slavery, and to lift from this great land the perilous incubus that weighs it down, may offer to share with the South the cost of emancipation; but it will be on the condition that the emancipated slaves

shall not be exiled by force, as if freedom were a crime to possess, and as if they must be punished for the gift. No; if they are ever bought out of slavery, from the national treasury, they must remain in the land of their birth, in which they have as much right to dwell as any other portion of its population, and to which their labor is indispensable and invaluable. Now, then, why not at once put them at least in the very condition in which it is proposed by some southern economists to introduce the Chinese? On what possible ground can you apprehend that it would be unsafe to give to the men and women born on your plantations, that degree of freedom which you would accord to those idolatrous foreigners from Asia? Would you prefer Chinese labor because it would be *free*, and easily obtained on hire? Then *free* the human sinews you have bought, and which you hold as property, and you will have the best, most natural, faithful and trusty laborers the world can yield you. You have seen, by many and various experiments, how the slave will work, when you bring him partially under the influence of hope and reward; when you allow him a chance to purchase, by an extra effort, a few hours daily, in which he may work for wages. Give him all the hours of the day, and bring to bear upon him all the aims and impulses that stimulate freemen, and prove what he will do in that condition. It is the only one that can raise the labor of the South to the standard of that which enriches and elevates the free States. Whenever our Southern brethren are ready for this step, they will find a large and generous co-operation on the part of the North.